/100 cont./

101 115 [79] to the Christians. It is said that they are white and friendly one reason why they are regarded as a horde of the Paiuya."

[31] Martius has them living at the southernmost sources of the Schingú and also lists them at the sources of the Arinos and Juruena. He also classifies /101/ them under the Parecí /Pareni/ who are scattered across the watershed between Tapajos, Madeira, and Paraguay.

101 Now it turns out that placing the Parecí and the Bakaïrí together in this way was erroneous. The well-known closest relatives of the Bakaïrí, as I wish to point out briefly in advance, are settled north of the Amazon River, and a tribe somewhat more distantly related to them, but belonging to the same group, lives in the source region of the Madeira.

122 I myself was familiar only with the name of Martius, and on the journey I had no idea how interesting this little tribe was

342 321

Bakaïrí village.

122 and how many hours I would later spend pondering over its past.

115 123 [91] It was a very fortunate circumstance that Reginaldo -- who was always ready to smoke a cigarette with me and warmed up more and more and gradually became highly amused by my notations -- had an amazing gift of quick perception and was able to express himself clearly for practical purposes in a somewhat crude Portuguese. Such an opportunity never came again later. Reginaldo was a good person, intelligent, and held the reins of his chieftainship in strong, paternal hands.

[22]

/103 cont./

151 only Reginaldo, who joined us, laughed and said definitely that the person approaching was Claus coming on foot. And he was right.

191 They all understand at least a few scraps of Portuguese.
648 They are on good terms with the Corad, who, they said, call themselves Kayacho. It seems that they impress them because of their rifles. Reginaldo did not like to talk about this point. One had the impression that, according to his inner feeling, he was, after all, on the side of the wild Indians and against the Whites. As a clever man, he took advantage of the benefits offered by the Brazilians and did not fall out with the barbarians.

148 191 302

João and Joaquina.

648 The Bakairí manner /meek Bacairi/ bow to authority. In their hearts they are the same people as the antiguos.

126 /104/ We were busy for a number of days. Claus worked out the itinerary and took the ground temperature, Wilhelm drew, I took body measurements and made the glossary that appears in the appendix. Besides Reginaldo, I was aided in particular by good-natured Antonio, who put up with everything and would have given anything to go with us. But he did not even dare ask the strict captain for permission. Castro, too, 122 was busy with notes. We shared the hut with him and the cadet.

115

/119 cont./

The abatement on the Paranatinga was smaller than the one on the Rio Novo. Moreover, the order of the community seemed seriously disturbed. Old Captain Caetano, probably near his eightieth, despite his black hair, /120/ had been divested of his sovereignty in favor of a younger man, Felipe, at the instigation of the Martyrios expedition, which, with the help of the Bakairí, had crossed the Paranatinga and passed through a section of the sertão /wilderness; see the glossary, p. 172 / in a northerly direction. The Bakairí, of course, felt more obligated to obey Captain Caetano than Captain Felipe, and the result was that each one made himself as independent as possible and worked on his own. Moreover, the tribe had been hard hit about eight years before by sarampão /measles/, an epidemic disease, the Brazilians put part of the blame for the number of deaths on the Indians because, in the heat of the fever, they had always run into the river.

At the time of our visit the Bakairí population was made up of five men, five women, three children -- not present were five men, three women, one boy, whose return was, in part, no longer expected. Moreover, there were two Parecí women, one of whom was numbered among those not present, and two Cajibí women, who had been adopted into the tribe. Finally, two Brazilians, caoutchouc-seekers, who had recovered from the fever in the village, had attached themselves, a mulatto Luiz and a certain Martin who had a Paraguayan, Carlotta, as a wife, with a small son. Altogether there were 20 individuals present.

Luiz, who had lived an adventurous life, a "philosopho," as he called himself, a "conversador," as his friend Daniel called him, was intimately acquainted with conditions; he chattered endlessly and was probably not altogether reliable, but he made himself useful, since the Portuguese of Caetano, who best knew the language, consisted of an extremely modest stock by words. "eine mêmo" -- "stimmt auffallend" /that's it exactly/ in German -- was the quintessence of his knowledge, so that the soldiers soon called him nothing but "Capitão Mêmo." Luiz maintained that Caetano was the son of a Bakairí father and

[cajibí = Cayabi, a Tribe classified under SPZ Africa in The Outline of World Cultures -- Analyst]

/122 cont./

191 Unfortunately neither Caetano nor Luiza and Maria spoke one syllable of their mother tongue.

837 The young men had the old women. It is therefore not improbable that Luiz, who himself boasted of the conquest of three women's hearts, was not wrong when he maintained that occasional /122/ unfaithfulness is not uncommon and also is not severely judged. The good-natured, aged Caetano, he said, once fell sick, to his astonishment, a short time after the visit of the Maxt,ruu expedition, but he was unable to be rolling with Lucretia for more than a few days.

162

Luiza Cajibí and Carlotta Parecí.

847 161 The use of abortive remedies is said to be common and to explain the small number of children. The end of this community can clearly be foreseen.

162 621 [125] The following was the result of my census:

Felipe (absent) married to Carlotta Parecí, children.
Caetano " " Luiza Cajibí, children.
Miguel, Joaquim } brothers " " Feliciana, one small daughter.
João, Antonio } brothers (our companion).
Joaquina, sister of Miguel and Joaquim.
Marianna.

/77 cont./

115 159 The various men on detached duty were very different in their usefulness for my purposes. Some tired too quickly, others were too unsteady. Fat, peasant-like Yapi, for example, yawned after a few minutes, and his face seemed to say, "Sir, you are asking too much," and Luchu, the vain fop, only wanted to amuse himself. Of the younger ones, only the remarkable Kulekule was of any use to me. He was, in fact, taciturn and reserved, but he obviously liked to come, laughed quietly to himself, and then when he opened his mouth to speak, he answered better than the rest. He had received beads from me for a pot, but he had to give them up. I presented him with new ones and did not accept another pot that he brought me. He was happy about that, gave [123] me a bowl of the insipid pogu drink, and sat down beside me, leaning his head confidently against my shoulder. My most faithful guardian was Paleko, with his long hair sprinkled with gray, his fine old face, he could very well have been /78/ director emeritus of a Gymnasium. In fact, we were often reminded of European physiognomies, whose owners would perhaps protest at being compared to a naked Indian. Ehrenreich and I, for example, were jokingly and seriously in complete agreement that we recognized a couple of gentlemen from the Berliner Anthropologischen Gesellschaft on the Kulischu; naturally these gentlemen did not resemble the Indians, but the Indians resembled the 123 gentlemen. I was alone with Paleko for half days at a time. Now and then, Eva or my intended or the Egyptian came alone or together, giving the two of us a little company.

461 Paleko plaited dainty little baskets, repaired weirs, twisted twine out of palm fibers, and did whatever else there was 126 in the way of such light tasks requiring patience. He gave me not • 191 only words and sentences from his mother tongue, but also a list of Nahuquá words, which proved that he had associated a great deal 114 with these neighbors. He put less value on learning my language than the young people did. I would rather have given them German words instead of the Portuguese, but I regarded it as my duty not to confuse the poor souls for the future. Since my knowledge of Bakairí was still very meager, I progressed but slowly.

/79 cont./

126 142 532 525 sometimes I am afraid I betrayed what to them were incredible gaps in the most ordinary education.

The most difficult problem lay in the verbs, and, to be sure, not only because of the complication of forms. If I succeeded in writing down short sentences in which something was said about an occurrence that was just going on, even if I myself performed all kinds of actions, such as eating and drinking now of this, now of that, which were supposed to give them the content of a sentence, /80/ gross errors were nevertheless unavoidable. Unfortunately, they often said things that were different from what they were supposed to say according to my count and criticized the action instead of naming it. They were thinking for themselves and not for me. And in these efforts their readiness to imitate was disturbing to a high degree. I bought nothing would be easier than to obtain at least those intransitive verbs that could be evoked by unequivocal mimicry on my part. I would indeed need only to sneeze, cough, weep, yawn, stare, only to get up, sit down, to fall, and so forth, in order to be immediately rewarded with the matching words. But they either clung to the contemplation of the process itself, thought wanted to go away when I stood up, righteously joined in when I yawned, because they, too, were tired, or were royally amused at my strange doings, and, amidst much laughter, would likewise abandon themselves to sneezing, coughing, and staring, without, however, saying the redeeming words.

I made the best progress when I gave them the Portuguese word and applied the formula: the Karaibe say it thus, how does the Bakairi say it? Here I finally almost always met with understanding and response, for they were mad about learning my language.

(511) They were very grieved that they did not understand me better, and, confusing hearing and understanding, they asked me to cure them. I had to put saliva on my fingers and with it rub the ears, the very entrance for them. Their comprehension of Portuguese 151 191 194 was even more deficient than they themselves realized. They have

/80 cont./

161 no f in their store of sounds and replace it with p. If I said fogo
197 (fire), fumo (tobacco), they would say pogo, pumo. But they
194 heard, or, more correctly, apperceived, the f also as p. they
were, as far as I could see, firmly convinced that they were pronouncing the same sound that I had said to them. Their attitude was entirely different if, for example, I gave them too long a word. then they struggled and despaired of it, but with regard to fogo, fumo, f...., the more emphatically and loudly I said it, the more emphatically and loudly they joined in pogo, pumo, p...., with decided indignation over my dissatisfaction.

128 I was obliged to be content with completing the vocabulary as much as possible and interpreting the sentences to the best of my knowledge. I did not achieve an actual translation that would do justice to the subtleties of their language, whatever I was able to offer in this respect in my book Die Bekwil-Sprache /The Bekwil Language/ (Leipzig, K. F. Köhler, 1992), I owe
192 to Antonio. I was especially very peculiarly touched by their joy over the richness of their stock of words. They manifested great pleasure at having a word for every object, as though the name itself were a sort of thing and piece of property. That the number of concepts depends primarily on interest was clearly evident. On the one hand, in comparison with our languages, an abundance of words, such as animal names or kinship terms; on the other hand, a poverty at first surprising. yélo is "lightning" and "thunder". kélpé, rain, /61/ thunderstorm, and cloud. Now of course, almost all rains in their region are associated with thunderstorm phenomena, and the cloud in the sky has interest for them only insofar as it means an approaching thunderstorm. The fact that, when they combine into one concept, in their word yélo, the visual and audible aspect of the electrical discharge, thunder is the more essential part is shown by the fact that they also call the buzzing whizzer-stick yélo. I, who proceeded from the idea of the magic instrument, according to the custom of mythologists, who was looking for the uncanny and recognized this primarily in the flashing streak, at first translated the word as "lightning" instead of "thunder."

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Yaruma 5725
Nahuqua

/94 cont./

E. To the Nahuquá.

Intercourse between the Bakairí and Nahuquá. Surprised in the harbor. Strange reception. Village vacated. A Tauriumdá. Overnight. Mehinakú in the village. Dances. Sad prospects for Professor Bastian. I go on ahead to the Mehinakú. Improvement of conditions. News about the battle between the Suyá and the Trumaí.

Without question the Nahuquá have all kinds of intercourse with the Bakairí. Even from old Falcão I had learned a whole series of Nahuquá words and from these, to my great delight, was immediately able to tell that there was a new Karaiben /Carib/ tribe involved. Falcão told me that he had formerly lived for a time among the Nahuquá. Tuniayana, too, had already been among them and /95/ knew many words of their language, whereas all of the Bakairí of the Mehinakú living downstream from the Nahuquá did not know half a dozen words.

The Nahuquá who lived in the third village of the Bakairí accompanied us when, on 7 October 1887, we traveled from the harbor of the third Bakairí to his fellow tribesmen only a day's journey away, and late in the afternoon he climbed out at a place where a path led up, in order to announce us in the village. Three Bakairí from the harpy village, including Chief Porisa, had also /Fig. 4 appears here/ joined us. We had started off at 6:30 and were obliged to pass through another small rapid with a strong swell. It, with a few fish corrals, still belonged to the Bakairí, while a small brook to the right, two meters wide, which we passed about 9:00 and which was closed off by a fish fence, was already the property of the Nahuquá. At 11:00 another wide brook flowed in from the right, the Iñiri of the Bakairí, or Riza of the Nahuquá in whose territory it lay. Much high sandy beach, four to five meters above the water level in the dry season, willow bushes, countless dead and fallen trees. At 1:00 we made a /96/ halt at a place with abundant fish; the piranhas snapped so quickly that one had only to toss out the line and they were already caught, one large, meter-long bagadú that Antonio had caught with iguana

/14 cont./

175 623 648 Anguaiko, who ruled the two Bakairí villages on the Rio Novo, held the grade of "capitão" and his intended successor, Joaquim, was a "lieutenant." In the village on the Rio Paranatinga the administration had deprived old chief Caetano, whose age was calculated at 80 years, of the chieftship and had entrusted it to a younger man called Felipe who had the rank of "capitão" in the year 1882.

178 [178] The way of life of the western Bakairí, at the time of Karl von den Steinen's expeditions differed little from that of the Brazilian campesinos. Already from the year 1820 they had all been baptized. Men's and women's dress was similar in general to that of the campesinos as the style of their rectangular houses was similar to the Brazilian ranchs. Besides some dogs many pigs and chickens were raised. Cattle was also raised, and they had some milch cows and a herd of oxen. They planted manioc, maize, pacoba /var. of French bean, from Quechua purutu/, rice, sweet potatoes, bananas, sugar cane, and a little tobacco. This agriculture was carried out to a sufficient degree to permit them to sell a surplus to the cattle ranch at Corrego Fundo. An important element of nourishment was provided the Rio Paranatinga Bakairí by the abundance of fish in the river, and especially the excellent matrinchan that was caught in the season of its collective migration upriver. (10) These western Bakairí worked then

10. Karl von den Steinen, Durch Central-Brasilien, loc. cit., p. 23.

on a temporary basis for neighboring ranches, but they also produced rubber for their own use and brought the product with their herds of oxen to Cuiabá.

105 177 179 [19] In spite of this almost complete assimilation of the western Bakairí to the ways of life of Brazilian campesinos, they still kept some of their ancestral customs. Above all they kept their native language, and only a few understood and spoke some Portuguese.

/20 cont./

Reginaldo and his people had a large number of cattle and several saddle horses. Although among themselves they spoke only in the Bakairí language, all of the men knew the Brazilian language, and it was said that Cacique Reginaldo knew how to read and speak some French. The Rio Novo Bakairí maintained at the time active relations with their fellow countrymen on the Rio Paranatinga. With the eastern Bakairí they hardly had any contacts, except for the Bakairí Joaquim who was the uncle of Cacique Antonio of the Paranatinga aldea and who had a young Bakairí from the Rio Sangue river in his service.

Different were the conditions of the Bakairí in the Rio Paranatinga aldea at the time of my visit. While the population at the time of Karl von den Steinen's expeditions had dwindled in such a way that Karl von den Steinen foresaw the end of this community, the population of the aldea had increased in the meantime with the addition of numerous Bakairí from the Xingu River region. The number of these Bakairí, called by their Paranatinga fellow countrymen Xinguanos, climbed to 34 at the time of my stay with these Indians. The leader of the community was Antonio, who was at this time at the peak of his power. The only insignia /21/ of his rank as comandante of the Indians of the upper Xingu River region, officially granted by the Mato Grosso government, were a pair of red soldier's trousers with a wide white stripe which ran down the side of each leg, but a more practical symbol of his power were several good firearms hanging in his house, which he also used occasionally, according to the Mato Grosso men, against insubordinate fellow countrymen. The majority of the Xinguanos then living in his aldea were totally dependent upon him with regard to economic conditions and made up a valuable component of his power, for he had supplied the most trustworthy men among them with firearms. This small military force was important above all to insure contact between the Rio Paranatinga and the tributaries of the Xingu River against the Kayabí who had unquestionably begun at this time to

[21 cont.]

622 that he still kept from those days. Antonio had no children by
115 Dulia Rosa. I had the opportunity to become acquainted with
[123] her when, returning in poor health from the Rio Kuliseho, I
was most generously accommodated in her house although
Antonio was away.

347 José Corvado's house, situated in front of his stepfather
352 Antonio's house, was just as large and built in the same style.
353 Its interior gave much more of a native impression than Antonio's
house. In the half-dark rooms several women lay in the ham-
mocks, [22] among them one with José's little daughter, who
was only a few weeks old. All the walls in the house showed in
the upper part, directly under the ceiling, boards painted in
black and white. These friezes made by the Xinguanos showed
the typical paintings of the Bakairí. All of the decorations
known to the Bakairí of the upper Xingu River region appeared
in these paintings, such as, for example, the figures called
159 ulari, merechu, and maimai. José, in spite of his youth, had
● 191 already had a great deal of experience. The hole in his lower
lip at once recalled his early childhood among his own fellow
[87] countrymen, the Suyá, whose idiom he still knew. As al-
ready mentioned above, he had come with his mother to the
house of Cacique Antonio when he was a boy of five or six, but
he had received part of his education in the capital, Cuiabá,
so that he was better acquainted than any other Rio Paranatinga
Bakairí with the Portuguese language, which he also used in
159 talking with his mother. When he was an adult, Cacique
619 Antonio had taken him along on a trip to the Batovy and Kuliseho
489 rivets. Already at that time he had had trouble with his step-
father because he had become too involved with the pretty girls
of the first aldea of the Rio Kuliseho Bakairí and had thus
damaged the good relations with the inhabitants of that aldea.
The anger of the inhabitants of the first Rio Kuliseho aldea
caused by José Corvado's behavior still continued at the time of
my journey to the Rio Kuliseho, and José did not dare to ac-
company me to that aldea because he had learned that its

/28 cont./

114 (113) Sept. 1928 bis Aug. 1929
/Account of My Two Years Exploratory
Trip in Mato Grosso. Sept. 1928
to Aug. 1929./" pp. 86-88.
Zeitschrift für Ethnologie.
Annual Set 61. Heft 1/2

114 In Cuiabá I had already encountered some Bakairí
115 who had come from Sumidouro Lagoa with a herd of oxen to the
capital. Since at that time the revolutionaries, led by /Luiz
Carlos/ Prestes, were passing through Mato Grosso and also were
making the vicinity of Cuiabá unsecure, these Bakairí were
prevented from undertaking their return journey for the same
reason I was unable to carry out my projected trip to Sumidouro
Lagoa. They were four men and one boy of ten and when they
visited me one day in my house, it turned out that one of these
Indians, called Marcellinho Cumiaigo, or by his native name,
Tangaue, came from the second Bakairí village on the Rio
Kurisebo. At the time of my stay in this village, 26 years earlier,
he had been a small boy, but he still remembered me well.
It was interesting to note how the memory gradually came back
to him when I played on my violin the same melody that I had
played many times in the Maimbieri village among the Kuliseho
Bakairí. He asked one of the other Bakairí what my name was
and when I told him that my name was "Dottor Max Schmidt," he
knew at once that his memory had not deceived him and he
greeted me as an old acquaintance. Naturally, from this
moment on he frequented my house with his small son, Lorenzo,
whose native name was Kairori, and with the other Bakairí,
and since some /29/ of these Bakairí were quite familiar with the
Portuguese language I had a good chance to take down linguistic
notes and to obtain at this time exact data on the changes which
had taken place with respect to conditions among the Bakairí
since my former journey. Among other news they told me that
old Cacique Reginaldo had lived on for a long time and had

(551) (191) (126) (622) (159)

Bacia. SP?
Mato Grosso SP1

B [50] [11] B 501

Nine canoeists, accompanied by Major Noronha, were recruited from the Rikbaktí. The nine included Paghaló, or Marcellino, and Iguarana, both of whom had lived on the Kaiowa before the withdrawal of the Rikbaktí to the post. Both of these men can speak Kaiabáwa to some extent, and are the only men who know how to make both canoes. Unfortunately, their Portuguese is poor, necessitating another interpreter. Their knowledge and skill in matters of river travel made them invaluable, however.

The Rikbaktí have the reputation of being the best canoemen of the region. The children are taught to paddle from infancy, and become extremely skillful in paddling the clumsy and heavy canoes. The paddle used is short and narrow, and a quick, short stroke is employed, the paddler shifting his paddle from one side to the other with every two or three strokes. Steering is accomplished more by the bowsman than by the man in the stern. The use of the stern paddle as a rudder is not well understood. Poling is resorted to by the men in the bow when going up the stream, in which case the efforts of the man in the stern are given to guiding the canoe, which is accomplished by quick shifting of the paddling from one side to the other. Among the Rikbaktí, as indeed among all of the aborigines encountered, the women are as good paddlers as the men, but they never were seen poling.

* * * *

B M 114

So soon as our personnel was completed, with the addition of a young Italian explorer, Giovanni Amoli, who had been forced to abandon his project to reach the Amazon upon reaching the post, our baggage was transferred to the backs of men and mules, which were to transport it to the Kaiowa river. The men not concerned with driving the mule went afoot. It was indeed an odd caravan. Mounted men busy with the mule, men afoot carrying bows and arrows and guns, long-haired men, small mules, filed in a long line across the waste of the plateau. All of the men wore a red kerchief wound about the head, and the usual humming conversation was carried on. The Rikbaktí, of course, wore trousers and shirts, and even sandals made of old automobile tires, in imitation of the Brazilian caucados.

B [177] [29]

As we moved eastward and slightly north, it became more often necessary to build bridges for the animals, across small but high-banked